1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply *javo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jujumo-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

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ber noting the fondness of one man for his son, an attractive boy of six or seven years. Asked whether he ever beat the child he said, 'No; his first son had gone to work on a plantation and had died there. How could he beat his second son?' On the whole it may be said that the Orokaiva hold up good temper and kindness as a virtue, a thing which society demands from the individual; and on the whole, again, they carry out that ideal to a greater extent than is popularly supposed.

Along with this ideal goes that of *dignity* or weight, very much akin to the classical *gravitas*. A man is admired if he can make his personality felt, but in so doing he must not make a nuisance of himself. He may fulminate against the enemy, and will even be praised for it; but at home he does better to play the role of strong silent man. Such characters are undoubtedly admired, though one cannot profess to discover any consistent expression of the ideal. The gravest *paterfamilias* will on occasion cast aside restraint and become a ranter, and does so, too, without losing his dignity in the eyes of the village. But a chatterbox, or one who reveals his excitability too frequently, is under ordinary circumstances regarded as a bore.

Another ideal is that of *courtesy*, and by this I mean something wider than mere politeness. Indeed, of formal politeness as we know it ourselves there is rather a conspicuous absence. The Orokaiva is off-hand when he does a kindness, and apparently indifferent when he receives one. He does not offer his friend a betel-nut with a bow and a smile, but throws it surlily across; and the friend does not say thank you, but picks it up and tears the husk off with his teeth, vouchsafing neither word nor even look to the man who gave it. But—and this is the best thing we can say of the native—there is a very high and constant regard for others' feelings. Towards the enemy you may point the fingers and twist or screw the hand in the infamous gesture called *gingi gongo*, and call him the child of a devil-devil, or even tell him he has a scraggy neck; but it is only in the extremity of rage that a man would insult his clansman or fellow villager. To point at a man is out of taste; to swear at him would be to

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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X-794 pp. 3 and 4, foot-notes), but I may give a brief account of it here for the sake of comparison with the Taro cult, of which it may be regarded perhaps not as a variant but as a rival. The originators were Dasiga and Bia of Manau, near the mouth of the Mambare, and the beginning of the cult was almost contemporaneous with that of Taro. It has been very plausibly suggested that the Manau prophets, not having received an invitation to the inauguration of the Taro cult at Taututu, were offended or merely jealous, and set up a rival business of their own. If this be so the competition was an unequal one: the Manau cult never achieved a wide popularity, and has long since become a memory.

X-794 Of the two originators Dasiga was no doubt the real
792 visionary. He is a man of striking and almost fanatical
●157 appearance, whose perpetual sternness of demeanour does not hide his real stupidity. He was formerly the village constable of Manau. Now he is a mission convert, and has adopted Christianity with what I imagine to be his characteristic intensity. Bia is a man of a different cast. My acquaintance with him is very short, but long enough to endorse Mr. Chinnery's opinion that he is a 'notorious sorcerer and a most plausible rogue'. He is a man of strong personality and magnificent physique, and to these advantages adds the prestige of his former rank of corporal in the Armed Constabulary. It may well be that he turned to profit the queer temperament of Dasiga; he saw the visions which Dasiga had seen, and entered into a spiritual partnership in which he supplied most of the brains. We might credit Dasiga with some sincerity, and Bia with a great deal of cunning. In passing I may record the same impression regarding Buninia and his collaborator Yaviripa—the latter a singularly alert, intelligent man, the former a visionary old duffer. It is significant that both Bia and Yaviripa were formerly *Baigona* men.

X-794 Dasiga dreamed and went up into the sky where he
792 saw God, and received from Him certain instructions.
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